

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 IO-03 ACDA-10 SAJ-01 SPC-01

PM-03 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 PRS-01 INRE-00

L-02 NSC-10 NSCE-00 SAM-01 DRC-01 /069 W

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O R 231719Z FEB 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0652

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION BERLIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 02958/1

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, WB, GW, UK, FR, US, UR

SUBJECT: PROPOSED PRESIDUM MEETING IN BERLIN; SOVIET

ORAL STATEMENT ON BERLIN

REF: (A) STATE 36043; (B) BONN 2948

SUMMARY: AT BONN GROUP MEETING FEBRUARY 23 AT WHICH
NEITHER UK NOR FRENCH REPS WERE SPEAKING ON BASIS
OF INSTRUCTIONS FROM CAPITALS, UK REP URGED THAT
ALLIES AGREE TO SHORT COMMUNICATION TO RENGIER STATING
VIEW OF FOUR GOVERNMENTS THAT PRESIDUM NOT MEET AT
PRESENT IN BERLIN (IDEA ORIGINALLY PASSED TO THREE
ALLIES ON FEBRUARY 22 BY FRG REP AS HAVING COME FROM
BAHR). FRENCH REP SEEMS TO BE MOVING TOWARD ACCEPTANCE
THIS PROPOSAL. REGARDING SOVIET FEBRUARY 22 DEMARCHES
ON FEDERAL ENVIRONMENT AGENCY, FRENCH WISH
TO "SEIZE OPPORTUNITY" AND PROCEED WITH "INFORMAL"
QUADRIPARTITE CONSULTATIONS AT AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL.
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(IN FRENCH VIEW SUCH CONSULTATIONS NEED NOT BE

REGARDED AS BEING HELD PURSUANT TO FQP.) UK
REP RESERVED POSITION RE CONSULTATIONS BUT SEEMS TO
BE INCLINED IN THIS DIRECTION. END SUMMARY

1. AT FEBRUARY 23 BONN GROUP MEETING UK REP
(CROMARTIE) PICKED UP IDEA PASSED TO ALLIES FEBRUARY
22 BY FRG REP (LUECKING), WHO SAID IT HAD COME FROM
BAHR (SEE PARA 5 REFTEL B), THAT THE PRESIDUM PROBLEM
BE DEALT WITH BY VERY SHORT LETTER TO RENGHER FROM
BAHR OR CHANCELLOR THAT THE THREE ALLIES AND FRG
DESIRE NO MEETING OF PRESIDUM IN BERLIN FOR THE
PRESENT. CROMARTIE CHARACTERIZED THIS AS THE BEST
OF ALL POSSIBILITIES, PARTICULARLY SINCE IT WOULD
MEAN A COMMON STAND BY THE FOUR.

2. FRENCH REP (PAYE) INDICATED THAT THE BAHN SUGGEST-
ION WAS PROBABLY THE BEST SOLUTION ONE COULD HOPE FOR
AND THAT HIS AMBASSADOR WOULD POSSIBLY GO ALONG ON
THE GROUNDS OF THE VERY STRONG FRENCH VIEW THAT THE
MEETING NOT TAKE PLACE--A VIEW WHICH SAUVAGNARGUES
HAS ALREADY EXPRESSED TO STATE SECRETARY FRANK. PAYE
THEN URGED SPEED AND ASKED FOR US VIEW. US REP
RESPONDED THAT BAHN SUGGESTION DID NOT MEET POINT
THAT RENGHER HAD NOT PROVIDED REQUESTED INFORMATION
AND THAT NO REAL CONSULTATION HAD YET TAKEN PLACE ON
THE ISSUE. IT WAS AGREED TO REPORT DIVERGENT
POSITIONS TO CAPITALS.

3. REGARDING FEBRUARY 22 SOVIET DEMARCHES US
REP MADE APPROACH PER REFTEL A AND URGED RAPID
MOVEMENT ON AGREED RESPONSE TO SOVIETS. CROMARTIE
REPORTED THAT APPROACH IN LONDON MADE AT SOVIET
AMBASSADOR--PERMANENT UNDER SECRETARY LEVEL ON
RELATIVELY LOW KEY BASIS WITH NO PAPER BEING LEFT.
REGARDING NATURE OF REPLY, CROMARTIE SAID THAT THIS
SEEMED TO BE PROCEDURAL MATTER ONLY (PERHAPS
OCCASION OF AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND'S LUNCH SCHEDULED
FOR FEBRUARY 26 WITH YEFREMOV COULD BE USED AS
OPPORTUNITY, CROMARTIE SUGGESTED), SINCE ALL
THAT NEEDED TO BE SAID ON SUBSTANCE OF ISSUE HAD
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BEEN SAID BEFORE AND IN UK CASE HAD BEEN COVERED
BY PERMANENT UNDER SECRETARY WHEN DEMARCHE MADE. PAYE
SAID THAT CLEAR OBJECTIVE OF SOVIET APPROACH WAS
TO HAVE QUADRIPARTITE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS--BUT NOT
CONSULTATIONS UNDER FQP. AMB. SAUVAGNARGUES BELIEVED
THE RUSSIANS WERE OFFERING THE POSSIBILITY OF
INFORMAL CONTACTS--E.G., QUADRIPARTITE WORKING
LUNCHEONS--AND THOUGHT A POSSIBLE WAY TO REPLY WAS

AT MEDIUM LEVEL IN MOSCOW (SINCE DEMARCHE DELIVERED
IN PARIS BY SOVIET POL COUNS TO COUNTRY DIRECTOR
(BOYER) SAYING ALLIES TOOK NOTICE OF THE SOVIET
COMMUNICATION AND WERE, AS ALWAYS, PEN
TO IDEA OF USEFUL, FRUITFUL DISCUSSIONS.
BELETSKIY COULD THEN BE TOLD IN BERLIN BY CHAIRMAN
POLAD THAT ONE WAY OF HAVING DISCUSSIONS WOULD BE
FOR YEFREMOV TO INVITE THE THREE AMBASSADORS TO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 02958

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LUNCH--SINCE IT WOULD BE HIS TURN ANYWAY. IT WAS
IMPORTANT, SAID PAYE, TO SEIZE OPPORTUNITY HELD OUT
BY SOVIETS SINCE, IF WE WERE TO IGNORE THEIR HINT
NOW, MOSCOW COULD BE INCLINED TO HAVE THE GDR CAUSE
PROBLEMS ON THE TRANSIT ROUTES AND THEN FORCE US TO
ASK FOR CONSULTATIONS. PAYE SAID THAT A QUICK
RESPONSE WOULD ALSO BE HELPFUL IN PRESIDIUM PROBLEM.

4. US REP THEN STATED CLEAR RESERVATION ON QUESTION

OF QUADRIpartite CONSULTATIONS, INFORMAL OR FORMAL.
IT SEEMED CLEAR THAT SOVIETS' AIM WAS REINTERPRETATION
OF QA--WHICH COULD ONLY LEAVE THREE ALLIES AND FRG
IN REDUCED POSITION. CROMARTIE WONDERED IF
REPLY WAS SO URGENT, SAYING THAT ANSWER AFTER BAHR
TRIP WOULD SEEM BETTER AS ALLIES WOULD HAVE ADDITIONAL
INPUT WHEN CONSIDERING TYPE OF RESPONSE. (FYI.
BAHR HAS INFORMED AMBASSADOR THAT HE HAS RECEIVED
NO FIRM DATE FOR VISIT FROM SOVIETS, AND THAT TRIP
MAY BE POSTPONED BY A FEW DAYS. END FYI) US REP
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RESPONDED THAT THIS WOULD LIKELY GIVE BAHR TOO
MUCH MANEUVERING ROOM AND THAT REPLY SHOULD GO PRIOR
TO HIS ARRIVAL IN MOSCOW, TO WHICH PAYE AGREED.
REPS THEN AGREED TO REPORT TO AUTHORITIES AND SEEK
VIEWS.

5. COMMENT: BASIC DIFFERENCES IN OPINION ON BOTH
SUBJECTS ARE NOW EVIDENT. ON THE PRESIDIUM PROBLEM,
THE FRG AND UK STRONGLY FAVOR THE VERY SHORT FOUR-
POWER STATEMENT TO RENGIER, AND IT SEEMS LIKELY THE
FRENCH WOULD GO ALONG. THE ADVANTAGES, OF COURSE,
ARE THAT ALL FOUR GOVERNMENTS WOULD BE ACTING
TOGETHER, AND THAT BY BREVITY OF STATEMENT RELATIVELY
LITTLE TARGET WOULD BE OFFERED. DISADVANTAGE IS
THAT IT IGNORES NEED FOR CONSULTATION ON IMPORTANT
MATTER. IT MAY WELL BE THAT, SINCE QUICK AGREED
ALLIED POSITION ON STRICTLY LEGAL ASPECTS (INCLUDING
QUESTION OF WHETHER PRESIDIUM IS "COMMITTEE" OF
BUNDESTAG) PROBABLY NOT POSSIBLE (AS REPORTED EARLIER)
THE BAHR PROPOSAL MAY BE ONLY BASIS ON WHICH AGREEMENT
CAN BE REACHED. ON MONDAY, HOWEVER, WHEN WE WILL
CALL FULL BONN GROUP MEETING, WE WILL CONTINUE TO
PUSH FOR FULL CONSULTATION AS DESIRED BY DEPARTMENT
(WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT RENGIER WILL CONTINUE TO HONOR
AMBASSADOR'S REQUEST, AS PASSED BY BAHR, THAT NO
PUBLICITY BE MADE ON PROPOSED MEETING). REGARDING
THE SOVIET DEMARCHE, THE STRONG FRENCH POSITION
FAVORING INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS SEEMED TO HAVE SOME
EFFECT ON CROMARTIE, AND WE MAY VERY WELL HAVE TO
RECKON WITH A SITUATION IN WHICH BOTH PARIS AND
LONDON WILL BE URGING US TO AGREE.
HILLENBRAND

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